

of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

CREATING A SMART SECURITY PLATFORM FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction and keeping the American people safe must be our highest priority. On that point, President Bush and I agree. Where we differ is how to avoid equating our security with aggression and military force.

I have introduced legislation to create a SMART Security Platform for the 21st century. SMART stands for Sensible, Multilateral American Response to Terrorism.

SMART Security calls for aggressive diplomacy, a commitment to nuclear nonproliferation, strong regional security arrangements and vigorous inspection regimes.

SMART Security would maintain the United States commitment to existing international treaties, like the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which the United States became a state party to in 1970, and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which the U.S. signed in 1996, but never ratified. Both treaties are vital to international security interests.

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is the only binding commitment to disarm nuclear weapons by states that possess them. The goal of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is simple: to ban all testing of nuclear weapons.

Earlier today, I offered amendments to the defense authorization bill that would express the sense of Congress that the United States Government should fully implement and observe all commitments and obligations to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and should work towards the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. By expressing the sense of Congress to support both of these important international treaties, the United States can once again assume the role of global leader in the area of nuclear weapons.

Let us send a message that you do not need nuclear weapons to be a world power.

SMART Security also means supporting and adequately funding programs like the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, CTR, which works with the Russian Federation to dismantle nuclear warheads, reduce nuclear stockpiles and secure nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. This program is crucial to nonproliferation efforts.

In 1991, an estimated 30,000 nuclear weapons existed throughout the former Soviet Union. These conditions led to the serious concern that nuclear materials could be smuggled beyond the bor-

ders of the former Soviet Union or that Soviet nuclear scientists might be able to export their expertise or actual nuclear materials to rogue nations or terrorist groups.

CTR enlists the Department of Defense to dismantle nuclear warheads, reduce nuclear stockpiles and secure nuclear weapons and materials in the former Soviet Union. Under CTR, more than 20,000 Russian scientists, formally tasked to create nuclear weapons, have now worked to dismantle nearly 6,000 nuclear warheads, 479 ballistic missiles, 435 ballistic missile silos, 97 bombers, 336 submarine-launched missiles, 396 submarine missile launchers and 24 strategic missile submarines.

That is why today I offered an amendment to the defense authorization bill that would replicate this program in Iran, to help rid that country of the nuclear materials that inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency are discovering every day.

The United States and Iran need to work together toward the common goal of reducing the world's supply of nuclear weapons because, in the long run, negotiating with other countries will keep us much safer than scaring them into submission.

The Bush doctrine has been tried and it has failed. There has to be a better way, and there is, one that emphasizes brains instead of brawn, one that is consistent with American values. SMART Security defends America by relying on the very best of America, our commitment to peace and freedom, our compassion for the people of the world, and our capacity for multilateral leadership.

Let us be smart about our future. SMART Security is tough, it is pragmatic, it is patriotic, and it will keep America safe.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EMANUEL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. EMANUEL addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HUNTER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

HOUSE SHOULD INVESTIGATE ABUSES AT ABU GHRAIB PRISON

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, where is the investigation of the House of Representatives into the abuses at the Abu Ghraib prison? Why are the Republican leaders dragging their feet? What are the administration and the war department afraid of?

Every day, the American people face new revelations, new allegations and more damage control by the administration. It is time to get it all out in the open. It is time to figure out how high up the chain of command this scandal goes. It is not credible for military commanders and the Secretary to claim justice will be served, when they themselves may be deeply involved in the scandal.

Is the new definition of justice in America to have those under suspicion serve as judge, jury, defense and prosecution? Today, top civilian and military leaders are again portrayed at the center of the scandal by mainstream media around the world. Is it true? We need to know.

Today's New York Times carries a story entitled "Military Police Receive Orders to Strip Iraqi Detainees." For the first time, a story places a senior military commander, a colonel, in the midst of the scandal. The revelation comes from a source reading a transcript of the military investigation to Times reporters.

Today's Christian Science Monitor carries the story, "Military lawyers advised Pentagon two years ago to protect prisoners, but JAGs said Pentagon political appointees had a harsher agenda." JAG stands for Judge Advocate General. They are military lawyers. It contains a quote given to ABC News by a general in charge of the JAG Corps from 2000 to 2002.

Rear Admiral Don Guter told ABC News "If we, 'we' being the uniformed lawyers, had been listened to and what we had said put into practice, then these abuses would not have occurred. That's about as clear-cut as it gets."

Our own military lawyers were on the record, and ignored by the civilians in charge.

Here is another insight the American people need to hear. United Press International today is running a story with the headline, "Army, CIA Want Torture Truths Exposed."

Why? Because they fear being made scapegoats by the administration and civilian Pentagon leaders.

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Quoting this story, it says, "Indeed, intelligence and regular Army sources have told UPI that senior officers and officials in both communities are sickened and outraged by the revelations of mass torture and abuse and also by the incompetency involved."

The most serious allegations are contained in the report by Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Seymour Hersh in the current issue of The New Yorker

magazine. Let me read the first paragraph.

The roots of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal lie not in the criminal inclinations of a few Army reservists, but in a decisions approved last year by Secretary of War Donald Rumsfeld to expand a highly secret operation which has been focused on the hunt for al Qaeda.

He wanted to move it over to Iraq. "Rumsfeld's decisions embittered the American intelligence community, damaged the effectiveness of the elite combat units, and hurt America's prospect in the war on terror."

This one paragraph alone ought to be enough to have the Republicans on their feet demanding an investigation. Instead, Republican leaders in this House remained silent as each new revelation damages U.S. credibility around the world, not to mention the morale of our soldiers.

The stories place Rumsfeld, Under Secretary Stephen Cambone, and Deputy Secretary Paul Wolfowitz in the decision-making roles in the scandal. Is that true? The American people and the world need to know.

Denials by Rumsfeld's spokesman will not silence the calls for truth. Indeed, if Secretary Rumsfeld has no prior knowledge, he ought to be the first person demanding an impartial inquiry by the House of Representatives. The time has come for full disclosure, not carefully orchestrated photo ops.

I call on the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives to begin an impartial and open investigation into the atrocities that occurred in Iraq. The American people are resilient. They are resilient enough to face the truth. So is everyone else who has nothing to hide.

ARE YOU BETTER OFF NOW THAN YOU WERE FOUR YEARS AGO?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, between now and the end of this session of Congress I will continue to ask the question, Are you better off than you were 4 years ago? And I think whether you answer that question by reference to war and peace or education or access to health care or any number of topics, the answer is clearly no. But tonight I would like to answer that question specifically by reference to the economy.

Mr. Speaker, when President Bush took office, he inherited a \$236 billion budget surplus and an economy that had created 22 million jobs during the 8 years of the Clinton administration, 1.6 million jobs in the half-year alone.

When President Bush took office the projected budget surpluses were enough to cover the costs of Social Security during the baby boomers' retirement years, and the country was experiencing the biggest drop in child pov-

erty in a generation and the lowest poverty rate in 20 years. Four years later under President Bush, the President is looking to create his first net job. Meanwhile, 8.2 million Americans are looking for work. The unemployment rate is 30 percent higher than it was when President Clinton left office; 2.2 million private sector jobs have been cut on President Bush's watch; and 2.7 million manufacturing jobs have been shed.

One of the major reasons for the current jobs recession is the increased exporting of high-paying white and blue collar jobs overseas. Consider several examples from the township of Edison, the largest town in my congressional district. Earlier this year the Ford plant closed leaving more than 900 New Jersey employees without jobs. Last year the Frigidaire air conditioner plant closed in Edison and shifted production to Brazil leaving 1,600 unemployed residents in Edison.

You would think the Bush administration would be concerned about these job losses; however, President Bush and his economic advisers view the movement of American factory jobs and white collar work to other countries as a positive transformation that will in the end enrich our economy. And for those Americans who have jobs, many have seen their household incomes decrease over the last 4 years by an average of almost \$1,500.

These cuts in income coupled with skyrocketing increases in insurance, health care, gas prices at a 23-year high, and college tuition increases averaging 28 percent have made it extremely difficult for middle-class Americans to make ends meet. And yet the President tours around the Nation touting his accomplishments. Based on these numbers, how can President Bush say America's middle class is better off now than it was 4 years ago? He simply cannot.

Consider, Mr. Speaker, also the government spends \$900,000 more each minute than it takes in thanks to a historic reversal in fortune during the last 4 years. Under President Bush's guidance and the policies of the Republican Congress, we have gone from historic surpluses to historic deficits, numbering in the \$400 billion range this year alone.

My friends on the other side of the aisle say it is not their fault that a war, a recession and a terrorist attack are to blame. I have actually heard them call it the perfect storm. But those excuses, in my opinion, ring hollow. Republicans are in charge of the White House and both Houses of Congress. So what are they doing about the challenges facing Americans? Absolutely nothing.

Do Republicans have a plan to create jobs or to reduce the deficit? No. Do they have a plan to stop the outsourcing of American jobs like those at the Ford and Frigidaire plants in my district? No. The only thing they seem to have a plan for is giving tax cuts to those who need them least.

Americans are facing record job losses, record deficits and record debt, and yet President Bush's only economic answer seems to be more tax cuts.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion it is time the Bush administration realizes that shipping jobs overseas and cutting taxes for the wealthiest elite in our country will not create jobs. President Bush and Congressional Republicans have had 4 years to turn this jobs recession around, and they have failed.

Democrats, on the other hand, are fighting to create economic opportunity for all Americans. Republicans are just standing in the way. So I ask once again, are we better off than we were 4 years ago? The answer certainly with regard to the economy is a resounding no. And I think we can say that for so many other aspects of what we have experienced here in the last 4 years.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HINCHEY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

JUSTIFIABLE COMPENSATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STRICKLAND) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. STRICKLAND. Mr. Speaker, I probably will not take the full 5 minutes because I am going to be joining my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), a little later for a Special Order. But there was something that I wanted to point out that I think is relevant to every one of us who serves in this body.

Following the exposure of the prisoner abuse in the prison in Baghdad, our Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, has said that he believes that the prisoners who were abused should be compensated by our government.

Now, I do not have any real problem with that if in fact the abuse can be verified. But what puzzles me greatly is the fact that there have been other prisoners held in captivity in that part of the world, and I am talking about American prisoners, American POWs, who were held during the first Gulf War by the Iraqi regime and some 16 of those ex-prisoners who were held by the Iraqi regime and treated terribly. They have described the abuse they endured while they were being held during that first Gulf War, and following